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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine faĥ tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi*, Krusenstern says (16, p. 167):

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (live or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed.

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evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*.

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

Professionals and executives

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and unorganized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna (papa,* level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically.

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna)* of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*.

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a*, the inspi-

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793 624 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 793 622 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils. Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 [628] [674] [784] For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by supernatural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the